UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Is the Anglo-Saxon Capable of Repentance?

By SYDNEY STRONG

Modern Knighthood

By GERALD M. SPRING

The Story of My Mind—VI

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

VOLUME XCV NUMBER 6

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 91
Is the Anglo-Saxon Capable of Repentance?—
—REV. SYDNEY STRONG 94
Jottings.—J. H. H. 95

ARTICLES—
Modern Knighthood.—GERALD M. SPRING 96
The Story of My Mind. VI.—GEORGE WILLIS COOKE 98

POETRY—
Hymn.—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 91
An Old Dog.—JAMES WALDO FAWCETT 100
Dream and Dare.—LUCIA TRENT 100

THE STUDY TABLE—
The Princes and Native States of India.—J. T. SUNDERLAND 101

CORRESPONDENCE—
Letters on the United States and World Organization.—GILBERT MURRAY and SALMON O. LEVINSON 102

THE FIELD—
The Fellowship of Youth for Peace 103

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1925 NUMBER 6

HYMN

[Written for the One Hundredth Anniversary celebration of the Community Church of New York, March 15, 1925.]

When darkness, brooding o'er the deep,
  Disclosed nor stars nor sun;
When steaming seas, in awful calm,
  Knew not a world begun;
Thy spirit, Lord, was in the void,
  Thy purpose moved the night,
And loud through aeons wonderful,
  Hast cried, Let there be Light!

The sons of men have heard the cry,
  And starting from the sod.
Have stretched their feebly groping hands
  Out toward the ways of God;
Have stood erect on trembling feet,
  With dim and fearful sight,
And moving lips unused of speech,
  Have cried, Let there be Light!

The centuries, like marching stars,
  Have flamed, and dimmed away;
Still onward strives the human host
  From darkness into day;
The saints, the prophets, and the seers,
  The martyrs calmly free,
Blaze high and far the sacred way
  To Truth and Liberty.

Our fathers, Lord, a humble band,
  Walked gallantly this path;
Sought desert ways of solitude,
  Dared storms of hate and wrath.
We follow where they bravely trod,
  Hold firm the fields they won—
Vouchsafe, O God, we fail Thee not,
  Until Thy work be done!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The publication in the last issue of UNITY of Mahatma Gandhi's Presidential Address before the recent All-India Congress was its first publication in this country and, so far as we know, its only publication outside of India. This fact makes this number of our paper a document of great and permanent importance, for this address is one of the most notable speeches of Gandhi's life and, in its relation to Indian politics, one of the epoch-making utterances of modern times. We do not know to what extent the libraries of America are collecting Gandhi literature; so far as we can ascertain, there are few institutions which recognize that now is the moment to assemble books, pamphlets, speeches which will be priceless in the years ahead. When that recognition comes, the files of Unity will be indispensable, for they contain a completer record, including original documents, than any other paper in this country. And this record will be continued in the way indicated by this publication of the Presidential Address! To our readers, long since familiar with the great Mahatma, there is no need to commend this speech, for we take it for granted that it has already commanded their careful attention. As a description of the existing situation in India, it is authoritative; as a statement of policy, it is clear and persuasive, as a revelation of Gandhi's mind and heart, it is incomparable. Never have we felt so poignantly the sheer greatness of this Indian leader as when we read the words of this official utterance. These are not the words of a defeated or even baffled man. Rather are they the words of a statesman who transforms defeat into victory, and of a prophet who keeps ever the vision of the shining goal. The Mahatma is today a mightier force to higher ends than ever before.

We have not undertaken to comment at length upon the defeat of the Geneva Protocol, because we do not regard the event as of any importance. We announced our conviction when the Protocol was first published, that it would not be accepted; and we further expressed our hope that this conviction was sound. The Protocol of course contained some good, but all this good was in the realm of ideas and therefore endures as a definite contribution to international thought regardless of the favorable or unfavorable action of the governments concerned. Along with some good, however, the Protocol contained much evil, and this evil was all in the realm of practical political policy and action where it could work havoc with men's hopes for peace. There is nothing to be bewailed, therefore, in this final fate of the Protocol which was certain from the beginning and much to be commended. When and if Europe and the world are saved, it will be by methods very different from those thus far pursued by the Versailles Treaty, the League Covenant, and the World Court. These methods, as we need not explain at this late day, are laid down with admirable precision in the program for the Outlawry of War.

There are more people in prison today for their opinions' sake, says a competent authority, than ever before in human history. Even the worst days of religious persecution never saw such conditions as prevail in these present days of political persecution. The circumstance, of course, is a part of the heritage of the Great War, and of the fears and hatreds engendered by that conflict. England, so far as we know, is free of this social crime. Our own country has released all her federal "politicals," but there are many still being held under state criminal syndicalist laws, notably in California. Many of the European governments are crowding their prisons with "reds"—more especially Germany, Italy, Hungary and Poland. How many men and women are languishing in these countries, nobody knows, but there must be many thousands. In France, also, the Communists are hustled off to jail, as witness the recent raids of Herriot. In Russia conditions are by no means as bad as they are painted by the enemies of the Soviets, and have improved in the last year or so, but recent articles and documents published in as friendly a paper as the New York *Nation* show that there are many political prisoners. In this case, of course, it is the "whites" and not the "reds" who go to jail, although the Bolsheviki have a way of disciplining their own Communists with terrible punishments. In Asia we find the same conditions as in Europe; thus in India the prisons are crowded with followers of Gandhi and Das in their work for *Swaraj*. Japan also is prompt and thoroughgoing in her despotism. What a world! What an age! We went to war to "make the world safe for democracy," and now, six years after the war, it seems as though democracy were fatally wounded.

The mention of political prisoners in Russia brings to mind the extraordinary position being taken toward this phenomenon by the Communists in this country. These Communists have been active for a long time in agitating for the release of their comrades from the prisons of Admiral Horthy, Premier Mussolini and other despots in Europe. Any reference to the fact, however, that there are political prisoners in Russia on the other side is resented by them, and is now being violently suppressed. Thus a meeting of liberals gathered in the Town Hall, New York, to denounce imprisonment for opinion was deliberately broken up by the "reds" because Russia was listed as one of the offending countries. The same thing happened in Pittsburgh and Chicago, and is threatened in other places. Apart from the important fact that, in breaking up meetings of this kind, the Communists in this country are denying to others the rights of free speech which they so strenuously claim for themselves, there are other important facts to be noted in the situation. First of all is the obligation of truth. We have been friendly to the Russian revolution from the beginning, and we are friendly still; but friendship cannot absolve us from recognizing and stating facts. There *are* political prisoners in Russia today—the Soviets admit it, and publish their numbers! How can we in honesty deny it, or ignore it? Secondly, a political prisoner in Russia is as dreadful an instance of injustice as a political prisoner in Hungary. The fact that one is a "white" and the other a "red" does not affect the matter in any way. Not the kind of an opinion, but opinion itself as an occasion of persecution and imprisonment, is the crime against which we protest. Thirdly, those who believe in Russia most, should be the first to seek to rid her of this offense against liberty. The revolution is being immeasurably weakened everywhere by these imprisonments which silence her friends and make eloquently vocal her enemies. The Soviets should disdain to put themselves in the same class with the Horthys and the Mussolinis. And as long as they do, true liberals everywhere, with unabated friendship, will still continue to protest.

This is good news—that the Legion of Honor in France is opening its membership to workingmen! Among the first to be elected, we are told, is an old moulder who has spent his life in making casts for many of the greatest sculptors of the country. Another artisan who is to receive the cross of the Legion is a jeweler whose skill and trustworthiness are attested by the labors of a life-time. Recently in this same connection was held a labor exhibition, to encourage skilled toilers to show their handiwork. This was conducted under the combined auspices of the Government and the Municipal Council of Paris. Premier Herriot took a personal interest in the affair, and various newspapers presented prizes. In order to make the exhibition an occasion of interest to the entire country, every department was invited to select its best workman and to submit specimens of his handicraft. It has been suggested that all this is a clever scheme to head off social unrest, to meet the agitations of the "reds." It may well be so! But we prefer to believe that what we have here is only one more illustration of what is the glory of France—her essential culture, her love of beauty for its own sake, her recognition of worth wherever it appears, and her unquenchable democracy. France at her worst is chauvinistic, militaristic, bombastic—the easy victim of the Napoleons and Poincarés. But at her best, France is the most civilized country in the world. Life not only at its silliest but also at its very highest gets more chance there than anywhere else in the world. France has her Napoleon's tomb and her *Arc de Triomphe,* but she also crowns Pasteur as her greatest son, names her streets and avenues for her Voltaires, Hugos and Lamartines, buries Jean Jaurès in her Pantheon, and—admits artisans into her Legion of Honor! This is the France that men adore

—the France that all the world would cherish as the brightest jewel in her crown. Alas, that a land so sensitive to the best, should be so easily betrayed to the worst! Or is this latter the price of the former? Look at Athens, the most highly cultured and the most quarrelsome of old Greek cities!

Let's propose a toast to our "100 per cent" legislators. Why not use Charlotte Perkins Gilman's words:

> No fledgling feeds the father bird,
> No chicken feeds the hen,
> No kitten mouses for the cat—
> This glory is for men.
>
> We are the wisest, strongest race.
> Long may our praise be sung—
> The only animal alive
> That lives upon its young.

Surely no animal does to its young what man does to his. We cannot see how Mr. Bryan can escape seeing in the defeat of the proposed 20th amendment unmistakable evidence that the roots of man's nature go down into sub-bestial soil. Here is an atavistic revolt more terrible than that of the great war itself. For here was no frenzy, no hysteria, no emotional excitation. What we have here is a deliberate determination to feed upon the lives of our young under the guise of "Culture" and "Civilization." Some day we shall learn that wisdom was not invented by a legislator, and that Charles Sumner may have been right when he said, "Politics is the last resort of a criminal." Let us not be fooled by the current subterfuge that men vote to defeat the amendment because they desire to save the child from federal standardization. Nonsense! They vote to save dollars by sacrificing the child to the God of Moloch. And upon their hands will be the blood of these children.

Sinclair Lewis's new book, "Arrowsmith," is as full of satirical shafts against the shams and foibles of American life as either "Main Street" or "Babbitt." The medical profession is in this instance the chief target, but even so it is only one target among many. In the first chapter appears a particularly well barbed paragraph. Speaking of the ancestry of his hero, the author says:

> Martin was . . . a Typical Pure-Bred Anglo-Saxon American, which means that he was a union of German, French, Scotch, Irish, perhaps a little Spanish, conceivably a little of the strains lumped together as "Jewish," and a great deal of English, which is itself a combination of Primitive Britain, Celt, Phoenician, Roman, German, Dane, and Swede.

This is as neat a take-off on our "100 per cent American" fanaticism, the current "Nordic" insanity, indeed the whole superstition of pure races, as we have ever encountered. Where is a pure race to be found these days? Certainly the Anglo-Saxons are not a pure stock. The Jews are intermixed with all the races with which they have lived for the last two thousand years. The Americans are not a nation but a collection of nations. In our veins there flows the blood of centuries, with crossings and criss-crossings innumerable. The wonder is that any distinctive traits are left—or it would be the wonder, if modern scientific investigations in the field of heredity had not taught us that traits are enduring entities. In all men, undoubtedly, there are prevailing strains, but this is a very different thing from *pure* strains. So the sooner we get over talking about our Nordic, or Anglo-Saxon, or Jewish blood, the better. St. Paul was nearer the exact truth than he imagined, or than most men even now think, when he declared that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men."

We confess that we are getting dreadfully tired of this excommunication business! Bishop Manning refuses to visit St. Mark's Church or give any recognition to its independently-minded Rector, while the House of Bishops by due process of trial for heresy casts out the good Bishop Brown. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick is hounded from the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of New York, and then is set upon by his "brethren" of the Baptist church led by the redoubtable Dr. Straton. The *Presbyterian* banishes John R. Mott and Arthur Moody to the realms of outer darkness for the heinous offense of lending aid and comfort to the Union Theological Seminary. A few years ago it was the heresies of social radicalism which were costing men their pulpits, while the heresies of theology went gayly on without let or hindrance. Now the *odium theologicum* has suddenly revived with a vigor which makes us not so much angry or indignant as supremely tired. What kind of a religious world are we living in, after all? Why, obviously in the Medieval world of the inquisitioner and the torturer, the papal bull and ban of excommunication. Here it is surviving into our time in the Catholic church, as witness the recently published autobiography of Abbé Loisy, entitled "My Duel With the Vatican." A great scholar and saintly soul, and a devout lover of the holy church, is repudiated for his simple fidelity to the canons of modern scientific criticism of the Bible and early Christian history. But not in the Catholic church only but in the Protestant churches as well, the ban endures. We are again in darkness, with ignorance and persecution still working their direful spells upon men's minds. When will this folly be done, this madness cured? Will enlightened men in all churches never rise up for their mutual protection and, what is infinitely more important, for the protection of truth and character? It is time, we insist, that the servants of light rivaled the servants of darkness in energy and ceaseless watchfulness. Not otherwise can religion be delivered from shame.

Is the Anglo-Saxon Capable of Repentance?

According to Jesus, repentance is necessary to salvation. "Except ye repent: ye shall all likewise perish."

Repentance is a principle of life. A mind ever open to the truth; not open once a year, then closed; not open during youth, then closed. It is a continuous performance. It is essential to life.

It does not consist of a reduction of personal vices or of armament or of a donation to the Red Cross. It forbids boasting over being descendants of Abraham or the Pilgrims; it is a constant openness of mind to the good, the true—to the light. Without repentance men will perish. It says to the fledgling, Unless you leave the old nest and fly forth, you will perish. Repentance is the perpetual call of the Eternal Spirit to everything that lives, to leave the past year's dwelling for the new. Repentance is arousement from the Rip Van Winkle sleep, lest one lie down a royalist, with outworn ideas, and wake up a royalist,—while great changes have gone on around. Destruction awaits those who refuse to respond to the spirit of life, and instead crawl into their shells of material possessions, traditions, creeds and—are dead.

Few individuals are big enough for more than one reform. The best men are apt to hark back to what they have done. They do something important, and then begin to cultivate the habit of appearing in memorial parades, or at comrades' funerals or at the reunion. They become reminiscent, reactionary, mere keepers of shrines and generally brakes on the wheels of progress.

Repentance is perpetual turning to the light. Repentance celebrates no victories, because busy winning them; forgets the past in an absorbing pursuit of the present;—chews no old rags.

Repentance commands us to respond to the kingdom of God at hand if we are not to perish. For, all the life there is in the universe—on earth, on Mars, on fixed stars, in invisible realms—is present life. Yesterday has gone, tomorrow is not yet born. Repentance is ability to respond to present life.

Is the Anglo-Saxon capable of repentance, of responding to the present life? There is nothing to save the Anglo-Saxon but repentance, unless he responds to honesty, truthfulness, common decency, and the forces that make for life. Within forty years of the time that Jerusalem refused to listen to the voice of the man sent of God, not one stone was left upon another. She refused to listen to truth and justice. Is this going to be re-enacted on a world scale? Does the Anglo-Saxon know the time of his visitation?

What are the Pilates, Herods—the priests, merchants, rulers—of today doing? Are they trying to drag us back into the old world order, in order to hold power and privilege? Think you that the men of Jerusalem and Capernaum were sinners above those of New York and London? Except you repent, you shall all likewise perish.

It is not that one desires disaster. Quite the opposite is true. But because one, trained in the teachings of Jesus—to say nothing of Browning, Lowell, Emerson, Whittier, Whitman—has acquired an ethical sense that will not be satisfied, if robbery, cruelty and oppression are rewarded with prosperity.

Has the Anglo-Saxon the repenting mind? This is his century, his opportunity. Does he know the time of his visitation? Is the mind of the Anglo-Saxon flexible? Does it give up its hold upon the past readily enough? It is said that the Anglo-Saxon rarely gives up anything once possessed—anything that the prow of his boat touches. It is nothing to boast about or to cultivate; rather, it is a weakness.

In the past, the glory of the Anglo-Saxon has been his pioneer spirit. He has been quick to adapt himself to new conditions. Is he retaining the pioneer mind? Is he preferring to crawl into his shell, to protect himself with walls of tariff, exclusion acts, prejudices, navies—and so lose his soul?

Has he ability to reform his prisons and courts? This is no idle question. What have all the wigs, gowns, high, imposing seats, saintly atmosphere, oaths, to do with justice? What would an honest and open mind, like that of Jesus, think of these things? He himself passed through the Roman courts—the Christian churches are reading about it during Lent—the model for Anglo-Saxon practice. He was belittled, degraded—as a prisoner always is. As a matter of fact, our prisons are the crucifixion of truth, mercy and forgiveness. Is the Anglo-Saxon open-minded enough to scrutinize his courts and prisons in the light of the Sermon on the Mount? If his attention is called to the conditions, does he get angry and declare, "the jails are not half severe enough"? Does the Anglo-Saxon appreciate that "justice being destroyed, will destroy"?

Or take it in church affairs. Is the Anglo-Saxon capable of repentance? If the twelve apostles should take seats in some church in Edinburgh or Chicago, what would they think of the performance? Suppose, they should hear a sermon on the Apostles' Creed (of which they had never heard). I imagine that Peter would take refuge in one of the forceful expressions he used on the shores of Gallilee. Is the Anglo-Saxon mind capable of repentance? Or, has it reached a stage of being "past feeling"? Has he enough of the mind of repentance to save him?

Men of big bodies and big brains, in London, subscribe to creeds that contain doctrines of election and infant damnation, which they do not believe. Women with big brains go right on promising to obey their husbands, which they do not and never intend to, and never ought to promise. Is the mind of the Anglo-Saxon

capable of "crossing the line from non-sense to common-sense"?

Has the Anglo-Saxon a mind that is open, or one that is shut to change; set in reaction? Is he sympathetic toward reform, toward the new and the better? Nations are "gathered to their fathers," when they are content with the "ways of the fathers."

Chronic resistance to moral and industrial betterment is sign of decay. Watch the way the great prohibition movement is received in Anglo-Saxondom, all the way from Scotland to Australia. Sympathetically? Scientifically? No, with jokes and propaganda. It is a bad sign. Unless men have the open mind, they will perish.

How is the Anglo-Saxon treating his own ideals, "the strangers who are angels unawares"? Are the preachers, editors, legislators, lawyers, of the English-speaking peoples, unpurchasable? If press, pulpit and schools repudiate our ideals, then are we hopeless? Is the Anglo-Saxon capable of responding to the truth, or has he ears that hear not? Is he capable of applying the truth that the "earth is the Lord's," that the Lord said that the "land shall not be sold forever, for the land is mine, and ye are strangers and sojourners with me"? And I think of Africa, China, Haiti, and all the islands of the sea that have been appropriated by the Anglo-Saxon.

Is he capable of understanding Rousseau that "the fruit of the earth belongs to all and the earth to nobody"? And I recall how the Anglo-Saxon has been busy removing cornerstakes and changing boundaries in ten thousand places in the earth,—and is still busy.

Does the Anglo-Saxon understand what Plato said, that "only right will heal a deep-lying political sore"? And I think of Egypt, Russia, Persia, India, Mexico, where the Anglo-Saxon has so often thrown right to the winds. . . . Has the Anglo-Saxon been listening when his Scriptures have been read, giving a vision of a true social order, "And they shall build houses and inhabit them, and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. . . . They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat." . . . And I recall that the Anglo-Saxon has appropriated, within a century, half the earth. Actually, the Anglo-Saxon has been the world's greatest robber,—so untrue to his ideals. Is the Anglo-Saxon capable of repentance?

And now, the vision of disarmament and peace is beckoning the race onward and upward. It is a time of great opportunity to America. Is the Anglo-Saxon capable of spiritually discerning and responding? Candidly, I do not know. There are some very ugly signs in the sky. There are also signs of hope. Of this I am sure, that if he does not possess the mind of repentance, the great social, political, industrial fabric which he has built will perish. Continuous repentance is essential to life; continuous response to truth and justice.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Jottings

A jury in Savannah, Georgia, recently convicted a white man for murdering a Negro, and he was sentenced to life imprisonment. The newspaper despatches declare that this is the first time in the memory of local court officers that a white man has been convicted of murdering a Negro, and describe the event as causing "considerable comment." And there are students still seriously investigating the question as to why Negroes migrate north!

President Coolidge stated in his Inaugural Address that we took the Philippines, etc., "to safeguard our own interests." We have always thought as much—and the same thing is true of Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo, and all the rest.

It is ironical to read in Unamuno's "The Tragic Sense of Life" (page 190) of "the great Unitarian preacher, Phillips Brooks, late Bishop of Massachusetts." Phillips Brooks, like Dwight L. Moody, was born a Unitarian; but, alas, he didn't remain one.

The fuss and fury of Foch and the Allied Ambassadors over war preparations in Germany are made ridiculous by the statement of Mr. Houghton, recent American Ambassador in Berlin. All reports that Germany is arming for another war, says Mr. Houghton, are false. "It is not true that there is any large store of munitions in the country." This is of course the fact, but Foch and his tribe are not interested in facts.

In 1924 the number of passengers carried by railroads in the United States was smaller than in 1920 by 24 per cent. In 1920 the average number of passengers per train was 84; in 1924 it was 65. In 1920 the average number of passengers per car was nearly 20; in 1920 it was about 15. Explanation? the automobile!

Daniel Webster is still serving his country. His ghost was made to confound Mr. Hughes in the contrast between the treatment of Kossuth in 1849 and that of Karolyi today; and it was summoned to support Senator Borah in the parallel between the Senate's rejection of President Jackson's nomination of Van Buren and its rejection of President Coolidge's nomination of Warren. An impressive precedent in both cases!

J. H. H.

Modern Knighthood

We are supposed to be living in a materialistic age. The contrast between our twentieth century and the romantic days of chivalry is so tremendous that many, under the impression of this difference, tend to call our present-day existence humdrum. In his remarkable essay entitled "The Moral Equivalent of War," William James gives an interesting presentation of this view on the occasion of citing the arguments of the reflective apologist of war. According to the latter, war is an absolute good in that it is human nature at its highest dynamic. Only by an occasional war may we, in this view, be rescued from the danger of degenerating into a positively despicable sheep's paradise, where valor has no place.

"Militarism," says James, "is the great preserver of our ideals of hardihood and human life with no use for hardihood would be contemptible. Without risks or prizes for the darer, history would be insipid indeed and there is a type of military character which everyone feels that the race should never cease to breed, for everyone is sensitive to its superiority."

The author of this essay is a pacifist and after he has been thoroughly fair to the opposite philosophy proceeds to argue that with all the essential pugnacity of the human race one cannot but regard modern warfare as too expensive in every sense to be worth while. He is in search of a substitute, a "moral equivalent." May I recommend the essay to the reader unacquainted with it? In this paper we are less concerned with the question of war. William James made an interesting suggestion and one that merits consideration.

My title, you will say, is a paradox. Applying to our times a term that is in its essence medieval is perhaps a rather bold procedure. Chivalry was a product of conditions very unlike our own; it is scarcely conceivable that such conditions will ever again obtain. Leaving both the townspeople and the peasants out of our consideration there were then two strongly contrasted classes: the Roman Catholic clergy and the inhabitants of the monasteries on one side, and the knights (lords, barons, etc.) on the other.

The people of the Church, particularly the monks, were men of book-learning whose attention was concentrated on a future world. Life on this earth was to them but a preparation. The knights, while sharing of course the philosophy of their age, were men of too active a temperament to neglect the affairs of the actual world. They took an enthusiastic and indeed a very intense part in it. Any allusion to the factors responsible for the evolution of our new world would not fall within the scope of this undertaking. Everyone knows that the present day appearance of things would sorely puzzle no matter what representative of let us say the fourteenth century. The question that now presents itself is this: Have we such a thing as knighthood in our modern world? Are there regularly occasions that call for the virtues associated with it in our minds? By analysis and definition, "knighthood" as I use it comes to be but a romantic term for valor. Evidently with circumstances so different and in an age where the state generally functions so well and cares so efficiently for the public there will be relatively few occasions which call into play the precise qualities of the medieval knight. William James discusses the romantic possibilities of modern warfare and endeavors to show that there may be even in our modern world other opportunities for the chivalrous soul. Perhaps the point most stressed in his essay is the desirability of making the valiant life more generally accessible to youth. No longer should it be the prerogative of the few, such as explorers and men engaged in certain kinds of research. (Possibly the average man has little realization of the dangers braved by the bacteriologist who experimentally injects dubious substances into himself in the hope of benefitting mankind.)

Now the emphasis has so far been largely on one kind of valor, on one form of "knighthood." Though moral courage was certainly not precluded the stress was on physical courage. I believe enough has been said in the preceding to convince the reader that I do not belittle its importance. Nevertheless the main purpose of the present paper is to make a plea for a very different kind of valor, one that, to be sure, may accompany the other. Do we not, I ask, incline to glorify physical courage at the expense of something that is its equal in grandeur? I for one can state that I have heard comparatively little said in regard to the need for moral courage. In our modern world we have the very greatest need for moral courage, a need that in the increasing complexity of civilization is becoming ever greater. Could we not even say that that is exactly what constitutes "modern knighthood"? The medieval knight went forth on an adventurous life and if he was in the truest sense a knight he busied himself redressing wrongs. He would go out of his way to aid the oppressed and the greater his initiative in well-doing, the more truly was he a knight. The modern scientific attitude toward life *should* enable us to acquire the faculty of calm analysis; it *should* train us to overcome prejudices and give us strength to face facts. The knight of medieval legend was willing to face all sorts of monsters and gloried in it. Our histories actually record and hold up to the admiration of our youth extraordinary deeds of intrepidity. Now in a changed and ever changing world, in which the occasions for physical prowess are really growing fewer, when enlightenment is extending and the emphasis among the forward-looking has come more and more to be placed on the harmonious development of the human personality and the training of the mind (for is it not our mind that distinguishes us from lower forms?), is it not our business to develop a different sort of chivalry? The world has changed but that by no means diminishes the need for all the virtues denoted by that term. Supposing we were to require of a gentleman that he face facts regardless of his personal reactions and that he take an initiative in establishing truths and in overcoming falsehoods? Why not? Cultivating one's mind as one would a flower is well enough as far as it goes. Very few conceive of such a thing as intellectual responsibility. The modern gentleman is the descendant of the medieval knight. The latter had rights and privileges but he owed these to his position which was one of arduous responsibility. The issues no doubt are very different. We have become more refined or at least in our peace-intervals we flatter ourselves that such is the case. Be that as it may, what place is there in the scheme of things for the indolent, nonchalant society man, or the person whose sole ambition is money-getting or, for that matter, for the selfish, cloistered intellectual, who enjoys himself very much while totally neglectful of the world and its needs? Is there any reason why we should be without our knighthood?

We moderns can no better afford to do without valor than could our ancestors of the Middle Ages. When once this indubitable fact is more generally understood, then, surely more men will rally. Knighthood in the modern sense should become as well established as was the former kind, the deeds of which we admire so much in history. Don't we already use the word "crusade" in a figurative sense? Joining in a crusade against prejudice should become the pride, or better the *sine qua non* of every modern gentleman or shall we say "knight"? The analogy should be carried through consistently and then in this world of today that attaches somewhat less importance to physical prowess the stress would be on intelligence and moral courage more than on physical strength and physical courage. Naturally the modern warrior's success will depend on how intelligent he is and on how much moral courage he can muster. Who can justifiably say that modern life is humdrum or maintain that it is lacking in thrilling possibilities?

I cannot go into details in this essay but I should like to give at least one hint: So far no one seems to have concerned himself seriously with the problem of determining the exact limits of practicability of Jesus Christ's teachings. This would be an interesting thing to do. We could not but welcome something that would make every so-called Christian look upon the great teacher as a practical guide amid the perplexing intricacies of every-day life. This would definitely lift the Christian religion out of the category of personal luxuries.

I am struck with how often one meets with such questions as: "Is life worth living?" or "Is the world good or bad?" Being personally so convinced of the relativity of all things I confess that I am incapable of understanding how one can ask such questions. Do we not all make our own worlds? Our life is worth living if we make it so and that depends on us. Our world is good or bad, enjoyable, tedious or a place of suffering according to our physical and mental or psychic equipment. *This* is not even constant; variation succeeds variation. There is not one world but there are many worlds, as many as there are temperaments. A temperament and its reactions is, in the view of determinists, a product of two sets of forces, hereditary and environmental. Though in this relativistic and deterministic way of looking at things the question of the "goodness" or "badness" of the world or worlds would be rather differently put, we are very much concerned with it. Applying it to the topic of this essay, you will agree that it is the duty of the "modern knight" to improve his world to the full extent of his capacities. In the case of great numbers of people there is a considerable stumbling-block in the way of such an accomplishment. I refer to the still very prevalent conception that we have inherited from the Middle Ages that our life on earth is only a preparation for a happier future life. Whatever be your beliefs you cannot in fairness deny that faith in a better life beyond tends to dampen enthusiasm in reforming the present world. One is led to accept things as they are. How often we hear people say that it is only their faith that helps them bear up. Shattering illusions and weakening people's faith is sometimes a cruel procedure! But has the thought occurred to very many, I wonder, that a concentration of attention on earthly problems (which at present is far from universal) might very well end by improving this world considerably? People might then have less cause for anxious gazing toward a heaven for the existence of which, after all, there is no proof.

We meet many pessimists among the enlightened who are desirous of ameliorating conditions and their viewpoint cannot surprise us. Progress has been slow indeed, especially in some matters. But it seems to me that we are living in an interesting era, in a hopeful one. Humanity has progressed in more than one way since the Middle Ages although it has admittedly done so more slowly along some lines. Modern science is responsible for something besides mechanical inventions and all that they imply. The science of human relations, though in its infancy, is most promising. This is primarily an age of thought. If I read the times aright it is thought and of course especially constructive thought that counts today. In a preceding age a man's foremost care was to inculcate faith in his children. Perhaps it is unfair to say that this is not a religious age. That depends on the definition; one speaks, for example, of a religion of service. Besides we all need some kind of a faith. What we have done is to shift our allegiance; we now put our trust in ourselves and there is a safety in a scientific law or conception that religious dogma lacked. The latter is fixed for all time whereas it is in the very nature of a scientific proposition to be subject to modification in the light of further knowledge. Our faith is in the evidence of our senses and in the co-ordinating-power of our minds rather than in some extramundane agent. We conceive the "higher power" to be in us and by banishing dogma we give ourselves a permanent opportunity for growth in wisdom. That seems to me the most significant advance we have made. William James in one of his books puts people in two classes: the tough and the tender; this distinction, as I understand it, depends largely on whether or not they are able to face life bravely without faith in a blissful hereafter. No doubt it will be the privilege of the former to furnish the greater number of recruits for the dignity of modern knighthood. In this so much decried materialistic age of ours those who are in the vanguard of progress are interested in acquiring more and more the ability to *think bravely*. Their chief concern in the training of youth is that their charges gain this faculty.

The question of whether this "toughness" or "tenderness" is chiefly inborn or chiefly acquired is an interesting one. The feminine mind is more prone to require a tender type of philosophy and it is not as yet possible to determine to what extent such a propensity may be overcome. There certainly exists at present a type of mind utterly unfit for the toilsome and adventurous career of the modern thinker, that would be repelled and rendered miserable by the continuous uncertainty involved. Such a mind turns from all the ugliness and harshness it may encounter and flees for safety into the haven of rest guaranteed by faith in a personal God. Men of that stamp could not aspire to the honor of modern knighthood. Addressing myself once more to potential knights I should like to touch on one more subject. One of the most needful steps, in my opinion, is for us to make a vigorous attack on the absurd proposition that human nature is something fixed that we must accept as it is and live with "for better or for worse" to the end of time. The human personality is subject to continuous modification by its environment. Intelligent education from childhood up is the environmental factor that counts the most and

it is just these individual differences thus created that are important. Far from being static human nature is always being changed, either in a social or in an anti-social direction. Egoism is indeed undeniably a fundamental human attribute and there is no likelihood of our ever getting rid of it. What is to prevent us from giving this egoism an intelligent direction? In this connection we might think of war; if modern warfare is so expensive to all parties concerned as not even efficiently to serve the cause of egoism it is clear that the intelligent among men should find a way to put an end to it. This, however, will not occur as long as the majority of men remain indifferent to the demand for action, be this indifference due to a religious disqualification or to natural indolence. I do not propose here to discuss pacifism or any other special questions. It has been my purpose merely to show that there is in our life of today a definite place for a kind of knighthood.

New York City. GERALD M. SPRING.

The Story of My Mind

VI

From my early boyhood the calling of the minister of religion had seemed to me a most useful one, and one in which one could do more good than in any other. I was strongly drawn to it, and I had even come to think that I should like to become a preacher myself. It was quite clear to me that I was not to remain a farmer, but I was not altogether certain that I could be or ought to attempt to become a preacher. It did not seem probable that I could secure enough education, and my interest in that profession was divided with the desire, at some times very keen, that I might become a printer and editor. It was my wish to learn the printer's trade, and I made one or two attempts in that direction. In Jefferson I was much about the office of the local newspaper, learned to set type in a bungling fashion, but did not make myself master of the craft, chiefly because I was too strongly drawn to books and to the calling of the preacher. All my life the attractions of the editorial chair have lingered with me, and I have often regretted that I did not go into a printery as a boy and follow that calling to its culmination in the editorial conduct of an influential journal, even if it were that of a country town.

When I became a Universalist it seemed to me that I had found new motives for entering the ministry of religion. Not only would I help to promote religion, but I would be able to aid in the freeing of the human mind from the superstitions of the ages, and from the bondage of outgrown traditions. If I was eager for this work, it was with a keen humanitarian desire to be of service to my fellow men, to become a real helper to mankind.

It is not well understood at the present time to what an extent the middle period of the nineteenth century was an era of liberalism, humanitarianism, and a desire for progress. Science had not yet interpreted human history or given us the theory of evolution. It was an age of humanitarianism, of belief that man is perfectible, and that in some vague way we can lift the race out of its misery and its poverty. We had only to will what is good, to rightly organize society and governments, and lo! the great change would come about. If liberal ideas could penetrate all society, if Negroes and women could have the ballot, if every individual could be free, and become a guide to his own conduct, all evils would soon disappear. It was the age of Utopias, of dreamings about an emancipated earth, of assurance from orator and poet that liberty is the watchword of all progress. It was in this spirit that Sumner and many others sought the emancipation of the American Negroes and the giving them the ballot, convinced that the inward sense of justice and right would guide them into all the ways and accomplishments of the older races in culture and government. John Bright and Cobden were proclaiming the same ideas in England, and Mazzini gave utterance to them in glowing words to the people of Italy. Humanitarianism was expressing itself beautifully in all countries, and seemed to presage immediately the dawn of a new day for the race.

This period of nearly a half-century preceding the Civil War was not merely one of utopianism, and of a confident belief in human perfectibility; but it was an age of religious liberalism, in which the old faiths were greatly modified by the influence of common sense and the growth of rationality. Universalism was one of the signs of this modifying and humanizing change in men's thoughts about God and the future. This growth of moderation, and this emphasis upon the importance of man's place in the universe, showed itself in Unitarianism, result at first of European influences, and then of the growth of rationalism and the humanitarian spirit. Another movement of somewhat the same character was that which grew up about the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg. These tendencies at first owed much to the French Revolution and to the contact of Americans with its convictions and its ideals. Then came contact with those movements in England which represented the more rational side of Protestantism, especially as modified by German idealism.

These developments were at first of a general nature, either within the older denominations or as expressions of tendencies of culture and broader thinking. Those who accepted these attitudes of mind, and these demands for a more progressive and modern type of religion, hoped and expected to broaden the denominations to which they belonged. They did not anticipate, and had no wish for, a separate sect or one which would antagonize the older Protestant denominations. This was distinctly true of the Unitarian movement, which had begun as a tendency early in the eighteenth century, and only organized along denominational lines when it was forced to do so. The same statement is true of the Swedenborgian movement, which began as an attempt to spread the ideas of the great Swedish seer, and which resisted to an extreme degree the influences which led to the organization of a separate religious body.

With the decay of feudalism, with the growth of democracy, with the development of the new tendencies in industry attendant upon the invention of great-scale machinery and the factory system of production, there came a change in men's religious ideas and in regard to every phase of Christianity. Democracy, individualism, *laissez-faire,* individual rights, personal freedom, liberty

of opinion and action, became watchwords and expressions of the period. What was thus represented found its way into religion, and it modified the older denominations or produced new ones. Resistance to change on the part of established religious sects, the persistent spirit of loyalty to tradition and the dogmas which came down from periods many years in the past, inevitably led to the formulation of fresh beliefs, and to the organization of new religious bodies.

There were other influences of great importance, which were not connected with any religious tendency or denomination, but which made for the modification of the individual attitude towards life. Humanitarianism itself, with its attendant reforms, was an influence of great significance for the increase of culture, for the advance of liberality, and for the growth of a progressive type of religion. These tendencies manifested themselves in the democratization of education, the establishment of public libraries, the development of the popular lecture, and the increase of facilities for scientific inquiry. More especially did these tendencies find expression in the growth of American literature, which first became distinctive and effective in an attempt to give them adequate interpretation. The poets, the essayists, the orators, and even the novelists, began to voice a conception of life at once American, modern, and progressive.

Out of this new and progressive east there came to us of the pioneer west many a voice as if proclaiming the dawning of a fresh era, the proclamation of a world untainted and ideal. At least, so it seemed to me, as I read eagerly the words of Emerson, Lowell, Phillips, Beecher, Parker, Whitman, and many another. Eagerly I read Lowell's songs of the new era, the glow of which penetrated my heart with a tender light of hope and cheer for all mankind. When I read at school or in the newspapers Lowell's words on freedom I could not resist their appeal. They came home to me as something most deeply vital, and glowing with a living faith in man.

If there breathe on earth a slave,
Are ye truly free and brave?
If ye do not feel the chain,
When it works a brother's pain,
Are ye not base slaves indeed,
Slaves unworthy to be free?

And especially the closing lines were impressive and convincing:

They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.

These other words of Lowell seemed to me truly prophetic and inspiring when I first read them, and as they came to me again and again in newspaper and speech of the time:

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth;
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be;
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.

Again, such words as these spoke to me a truth which I accepted with eagerness and entire approval:

Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
And not on paper leaves nor leaves of stone;
Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
While swings the sea, while mists the mountain shroud,
While thunder's surges burst on cliffs aloud,
Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit.

Not less welcome were many of the poems of Whittier, with their Quaker trust in the love of God and man's insight into the highest truths of life. His pleadings for the slave and the worker, his cheerful optimism, his confidence that the future is safe for one and all who live, seemed to me to voice the real meanings of the most rational and the most spiritual religion. Not less inspiring were Tennyson's words in Locksley Hall, which we of that time, in the middle nineteenth century, were forever repeating as voicing the deepest faith within us:

Men, my brothers, men the workers, ever reaping something new:
That which they have done but earnest of the things that they shall do;

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bails;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunderstorm;

Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.

Whatever Tennyson may have meant by these words they gave utterance to a conviction and a confidence of the time, and no criticisms, or changes of attitude on the part of the poet at a later period of his life, could lessen our liking for these flowing lines, and for the prophetic hope regarding the future of mankind which they expressed. It was not only Tennyson and Lowell who were singing of the new day, of the more promising future, but nearly every poet of the time. It was an age of optimism, of faith in mankind, of casting aside the old beliefs and ideals. It has seemed to me that the youth of today can secure from poet and orator nothing of the inspiration, the moral incentive, the reformatory glow, which formed such a vital result of the age in which my youth was spent. No poet of recent years has had anything of that power of stirring youth, that ability to arouse and convince, which was characteristic of the literature of the middle of the nineteenth century in America and corresponding years in Europe. Youth is always impressionable, and it will forever find causes for its heroism and its ideal convictions; but the period when I was growing to manhood had its heroic motives and its inspiring incentives which the succeeding years have not reproduced.

One of the characteristic ideas of the era to which I refer was that of progress, and of the movement of man forward towards a higher and finer life to come. This conception of evolution was thoroughly idealistic, but it was stimulating, and it had its moral motives of deep impressiveness. I eagerly imbibed this idea, which was to me profoundly attractive. I did not know enough of life or of history to realize its limitations, but it fitted well into all the tendencies which I have mentioned. As the years went on there came to me the more definite conception of evolutionary causes provided by

Darwin, with the publication of his Origin of Species, which appeared in 1859. I have no recollection when Darwinism first came to my knowledge, but I probably gained some acquaintance with it in the periodicals of the time not long after its first publication. I cannot assume that as a boy I fully grasped its import or understood its full biological significance for the whole of life.

I cannot recall any period in my boyhood, however, when the old creation view of the universe had any meaning for me. It is probable, of course, that in childhood I accepted it; but as soon as I came to have any definite thoughts on the subject I received the evolution theory, at first in an idealistic form, and then in that presented by Darwin. As many others did, I brought the evolution hypothesis into harmony with theism; but the principle of natural selection I accepted from the first, and the theory that all present phenomena grow out of antecedent phenomena along the line of natural causes. Even before the time of Darwin the idea of natural law had become a favorite theory of liberal-minded persons, and it was generally accepted as firmly established by the teachings of science.

It is not to be assumed that every one accepted the opinions to which I have referred. The great majority did not accept them, and they were combatted with vigor and much of sectarian zeal. They were regarded with dismay by many persons, and they were challenged as being atheistic and materialistic. They were referred to in the pulpit as phases of "science falsely so called," and as presenting a new and dangerous form of heresy. The books of Darwin and Spencer, and the addresses and essays of Huxley, Tyndall, and several others, stirred very deeply the generation in its prime of life from 1860 to 1885. The old scientific beliefs were boldly attacked by these men, though in a widely different manner by Darwin and Huxley. Darwin presented his theories, with the immense masses of facts which sustained them, without controversy and without attack upon the older conceptions. Huxley became an uncompromising defender of the Darwinian theories, and fought for them against all comers, without fear and without compromise. Tyndall set forth his conclusion, at one of the sessions of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, that in the fire-mist out of which the universe developed was to be found the promise and potency of all forms of life, even the very highest, which that universe has since disclosed. All of this stirred the age to the very depths of its intellectual life, and was subject of persistent and uncompromising controversy on both sides.

In the midst of these tendencies I came to my intellectual manhood. My convictions went with the scientists, the progressives of every sort, as doubtless was the case with many youths at that period. I have always felt that it was a great time in which to awaken to the meanings of life, and in which to enter upon one's intellectual career. While the ideas and tendencies to which I have referred gave one stimulus and inspiration, they were the causes of serious conflict with the older generation and with established beliefs of all kinds.

As soon as I began to apply the newer convictions to the problems of religion I found that I could not think in the manner of most of those around me. I came to regard the miraculous as result of natural causes or as a phase of early ignorance of the facts and principles of science. When at Jefferson I joined the Bible-class in the Universalist church. The other members of the class quietly received the old-fashioned teachings given them by the minister, but I felt inclined to ask questions, and not to be satisfied with the conventional answers. It was my conviction, perhaps somewhat arrogantly stated, that the miraculous element in the Bible was not to be explained by the assertion that the age of miracles has now passed by, and that the supernatural phases of the New Testament were accorded to the world in order that Christianity might be proven true. To me it seemed certain that miracles are universal or that they do not occur at all. In case they are universal, they are results of some law we do not clearly understand. On the other hand, if they are results of tradition and superstition, then they are evidently of no value as proofs of the truth of Christianity. The claim of the more liberal thinkers of the time, that Christianity does not need to prove itself, that Jesus in his own personality is its best and only genuine evidence, seemed to me sound in principle and in fact.

It would be idle for me to claim that I had reached sound and valid conclusions, for I accepted Spiritualism as affording evidence in regard to what is usually called the supernatural. For several years it was my conviction that the activities of spirits accounted for all the so-called supernatural elements in religion. I was impatient of any other conclusion. Ready as I was to accept science as offering the only valid explanation of the origin of the universe, I was not yet capable of following its methods to their legitimate conclusion in the rejection of all phases of the supernatural as not sufficiently validated. The result of my discussion of the miraculous with the pastor of the church I attended was that I withdrew from his class, since I found that I was an element of discord on account of my inquiring turn of mind.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(*To be continued.*)

AN OLD DOG

Summer and winter, day and night,
Through fifteen years' eventless flight,
Up London streets and down again
He piloted two old blind men.
They could not see. How could they know
That the poor beast they trusted so,
Whose instinct was their borrowed mind,
Was, like themselves, entirely blind?

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

DREAM AND DARE

Though the wings of Faith are stark and cold,
And dross I find in the garb of gold,
Though Dawn with promises in her eyes
Was herald of bleak and burdened skies,
The kindling light of a guardian star
Has touched my heart, and better far
To dream and dare, to fail and fall
Than never to dream and to dare at all!

LUCIA TRENT.

THE STUDY TABLE

The Princes and Native States of India*

Probably it would not be an extravagant statement to say that no nation since ancient Rome has followed so persistently and with so much success the motto of the old Roman conquerors, *divide et impera* (divide and rule) as has Great Britain in her conquest and rule of India. She declares to the world that India is not fit to govern itself because it is not united. But, as a fact, there is nothing Britain so much dreads and has always striven so hard to prevent as a united India. She knows that nothing weakens any nation so effectually as internal divisions, and therefore that just in the degree in which she can foster divisions among the Indian people, in that degree is her task of holding them in subjection made easier.

Of the many methods which she has employed from the first of preventing Indian unity, two have been more conspicuous than the rest. One of these has been that of fostering estrangement between the two great religions of India, Hinduism and Mohammedanism. The other has been that of separating the country into two great divisions, with different forms of government,—one division ruled directly by herself and known as British India, and the other made up of a number of states, large and small (known as Native States) nominally ruled by Indian Princes. These princes, who are really little more than puppets set up by the British, are flattered and petted by the British government; they are euphemistically called not "subjects" but "allies" of Great Britain; they have honors and titles conferred upon them, are encouraged to put on pomp and display, to have courts and retainers and toy armies, and to act like little kings. Most of them are pleased with all this, are lifted up in their own estimation by it, and made to believe that they are real rulers with sovereign rights. By this means they are kept loyal; in other words, by this means they are blinded to their chains. But the chains are there, and they are chains of steel. As a fact, the Indian Princes are allowed to do absolutely nothing contrary to the wish and will of their superiors. If they enact laws, not one of them has any validity or is permitted to stand for an hour, if it interferes with the interests and plans of the paramount power. Even their crowns are subject to the good will of their foreign lords, as is shown by the fact that within the past year the Maharaja of Nabha has been compelled to abdicate because he was not sufficiently subservient.

What Dr. Das does in his timely and important book is to make all this clear and indisputable. He shows beyond a shadow of question that under British Rule, as it now exists in India, not one of the native princes has any sovereign rights at all. He points out that at first, by virtue of treaties signed between their states and Great Britain, many of them did have such rights in some slight degrees; but that, little by little, in one way or another, all real power, all real independence and all real sovereignty, has been taken away from them all.

Some years ago an organization or body was formed called the Chamber of Princes, which by some at first was thought to mean greater power to the native rulers through combined action. But it soon became clear that it meant nothing of the kind; for the Viceroy was made the head of the Chamber, and the body has been allowed to take no independent action whatever.

One of the most serious obstacles, perhaps the most serious, in the way of progress and reforms in India, and especially in the way of India's struggle for freedom, is the backward Native States and the ignorant and shackled princes who are supposed to rule them. The British Government keeps each State isolated as much as possible from its neighbors, and will not permit any concerted action. All the States are forbidden not only all intercourse or active relationship with any state or nation outside of India, but also with all other states in India. Restrictions are put upon the foreign travel of the princes. As far as possible they are educated in special schools, under imperialistic and militaristic and British influences, away from contact with the progressive ideas of the time and especially away from all ideals of democracy and freedom. Thus most of the princes are kept comparatively narrow-minded and ignorant, and as a result they allow less freedom of speech and do less for education in their states than is the case in British India. There are a few striking exceptions. Three or four of the important Native States have rulers of such ability and strength of character that they have in some measure overcome these obstacles. They have studied in the best institutions of learning in India, have traveled and studied abroad, and in other ways have put themselves in contact with the great world and its progressive thought. As a result they have created in their states the best educational systems in India, have produced a higher degree of literacy than exists elsewhere, and are doing more for the welfare of their people than is done in British India. But this forms a contrast which the British Government does not like. It throws a disturbing light upon the claim of the British that they are in India for India's good, and that the country would go to the bad if left to itself. It is easy to see why these advanced Indian princes who dare thus to show some independence, and are lifting up their people in practical ways, and are encouraging the spread of progressive ideas, are unpopular with the British Government and are often made to feel its displeasure and its heavy hand; and also why those princes who are most subservient to their British masters and who do most to keep progressive and democratic ideas away from their people, receive most favors from the sovereign power and are most secure in their positions.

Dr. Das believes that the policy of Great Britain of keeping the Indian princes ignorant and in leading strings, and of trying to prevent them and their states from contact with British India, is harmful to the princes, to the native states and to the whole Indian nation. The real welfare and interests of the native states lie in connection with British India. Nor can the permanent welfare of British India be separated from that of the native states. Progress in British India is rendered much harder by reason of the backwardness of the native states. Both should go forward together. Perhaps it would be possible for British India to gain her freedom—to attain either independence or dominion status like that of Canada—without reference to the native states, and while the majority of them remained in the condition of backwardness and abject subjection which now exists. But this would be difficult, unsatisfactory and only temporary.

* "Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes." By Taraknath Das, M.A., Ph.D. Ganesh and Company, Madras, India.

India is one. The native states belong to it. To separate them permanently from British India would be like severing a prominent and essential part of the human body from the rest. Every possible effort must be made to prevent such a dire calamity.

Dr. Das believes that the native states have been too much neglected by the Indian National Congress in its plannings and its public utterances. Leading men in British India should cultivate friendship, intercourse and co-operation with leading men in the States. Constant efforts should be made to encourage all kinds of reform movements there,—educational, social, industrial and political, and to promote there the circulation of the best literature of British India. The National Congress should do all possible to extend its membership in the native states, should invite eminent men from there to speak at the annual sessions of the Congress, and should always pass resolutions expressing the deep interest of the Congress in the welfare of those states, and its earnest desire to promote closer relations between them and itself.

March 20, 1925. J. T. SUNDERLAND.

CORRESPONDENCE

LETTERS ON THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

March 9, 1925.

The following letter received from Professor Gilbert Murray on February 25 raises an interesting question for those who are studying carefully the possibility of the United States' eventual adherence to some effective form of world organization.

JAMES G. MCDONALD, Chairman.

February 16, 1925.
Yatscombe, Boar's Hill, Oxford.

My dear McDonald,

The controversy about the protocol is settling down into an attack on the Covenant. Many people have read or been told about the Covenant for the first time and realize with alarm the meaning of Article 16. They are hopelessly befogged, of course, about alleged complications with America and with the British Dominions, but at the root of the matter there remains the instinctive English aversion to any engagement which might land the country in war or prejudice an issue which would have to be settled by the House of Commons.

What I wanted to ask you was this. How do you think common republican opinion in America would regard a Treaty for Universal Compulsory Arbitration like the protocol or the Shotwell plan, which would substitute for the present sanctions (i.e., Covenant 16 or Protocol 10, 11, 12) an engagement to this effect?

"Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants in Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League which hereby undertake immediately to confer together, in order to take such steps as may seem most suitable to re-establish peace and loyally and effectively to uphold the Covenants of the League."

The clause about the economic boycott, etc., might be added as an illustration of the sort of steps which might be taken, though this would not be necessary. It might also be suitable to add some provision to the effect that the general engagement to coerce the peace-breaker should not preclude the most serious efforts to re-establish peace by agreement, e.g., rearrangement of frontiers by plebescites or by reference to the Court should not be ruled out.

Another point on which I should like to have your opinion is whether it is likely that America will set up an Arbitration Treaty with Japan on the Bryan model. Or do you think the Four Power Treaty is sufficient? It is curious what a terror there is in many circles here of some American government making war for the sake of destroying the League and incidentally upsetting Great Britain. I always tell them that such a fear is perfectly fantastic, but there are some things that naturally cause alarm. Yours very sincerely,

GILBERT MURRAY.

March 19, 1925.

Hon. James G. McDonald,
Chairman Foreign Policy Association
9 East 45th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

On my return to the city I found your letter of the 28th ultimo with its interesting enclosure. I would like to know who took the pains to get up this valuable comparison of plans. Perhaps the recent rejection of the Protocol has changed the situation to such an extent, that a more thoroughgoing scheme for the riddance of war may be in order in Europe.

Two or three sentences from Chamberlain's speech incline me to believe that he had read the article I sent him entitled "Can Peace Be Enforced?" published in the *Christian Century* of January 8th last. I was much encouraged by the position thus taken, namely, that treaties of alliance must rely upon good faith as much as other kinds of treaties do and cannot rest upon force or war alone. If we could get this war idea out of the League and auxiliary schemes for peace emanating from Europe it would be vastly easier for us to put a united front toward the common enemy.

The writer of the comparative study evidently used the old and somewhat superseded program of the plan contained in my original pamphlet of 1921. I enclose the recent plan and modus operandi which gives our formula very much better. For example, we make no distinction in our abolition of war, as, for example, Wickersham did at Washington, between righteous wars and unrighteous wars; or between good wars and bad wars; or between aggressive wars and defensive wars. We condemn and outlaw the institution of war and would prohibit its use altogether in the settlement of international controversies. So long as the institution of war can be used for any supposedly legitimate purpose, it will parade under that mask. We recognize the inherent right of defense; we say it is God-given and cannot be taken away and therefore needs no exploitation or even a place in the code. It is there whether incorporated or not. The moment distinctions and refinements are made in the brands of war all hope of peace is put in jeopardy. Diplomacy can always out-wit definitions. For an analogous reason domestic law has never defined fraud lest the unscrupulous and ingenious may circumvent the law by evading the definition.

In short, our group refuses to compromise on so vital a subject. Furthermore we claim that to compromise Outlawry is to risk its loss altogether. Until Europe is ready to join with the United States in an unequivocal declaration abolishing the institution of war in as plain and simple language as we abolished slavery in our constitution, we are opposed to hazarding the peace of the world on a dubious, intricate and loop-holed plan.

Recently Dr. Morrison, editor of The Christian Century, in speaking before a group of ministers, was asked this question: "What are your views concerning the League and the Court?" He answered: "When you take war out of the League I shall be for the League; and when you put Outlawry into the Court I shall be for the Court."

This expresses our tender of conciliation and harmony. Is it unreasonable?

Sincerely yours,

SALMON O. LEVINSON.

March 20, 1925.

Dear Mr. McDonald:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th instant enclosing copy of Professor Murray's letter to you. My yesterday's letter to you partially covers my point of view.

Professor Murray, as early as February, seems to have anticipated the British Cabinet's conclusions and Mr. Chamberlain's speech. England's action is convincing proof of the charge against the Protocol and the League,—that they are intended to be backed up by overwhelming force. Thus the League and the Protocol both continue the fallacy and error (which have been greatly intensified by the destructiveness of modern warfare) that force is the only sure method of administering international justice or of obtaining international

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The American Movement is a dynamic factor in this world federation. We Youth must courageously face the problems of race prejudice, economic conditions, education, our moral responsibilities, and all human relationships, and approach their study in a new spirit. Standing together the rising generation can build a new world in which suspicion, hatred, and war will be replaced by mutual trust, goodwill, and fellowship.

We believe that from our comradeship with Youth throughout the world will spring the insight to keep our vision clear, and the courage to be loyal, unflinchingly, to our ideals. Will you unite with us in this great adventure of Youth?

Patriotism Is Not Enough

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The title is a direct quotation from Edith Cavell's last words, and the book is devoted to explaining what those last words really meant. "A citizen of America," says the author, "must in the end be a citizen of the world." Dr. Holmes attacks "stand-patism" and "normalcy," brands as "propaganda" the teaching of patriotism as it is now conducted in schools and colleges alike, and describes our common-school histories as being one-sided and provincial. He accompanies his destructive criticism with a constructive program of betterment. Withal, the book is written in a temperate, well-reasoned manner and shows profound learning.

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peace. President Wilson was of the same opinion. For him Article 10 was "the heart of the covenant" and of course Article 16 is merely the provision for "sanctions" to enforce Article 10. Mr. Wilson said: "There is only one way to assure the world of peace; that is, by making it so dangerous to break the peace that no other nation will have the audacity to attempt it." This theory has been repudiated by overwhelming public opinion in this country, and is in direct conflict with the practical wisdom of the geniuses who founded our government. The theory of force and war between our sovereign states was disclaimed and reprobated, and for the first time in human history a judicial system was set up to supplant, as between and among our own sovereign states, the traditional war system.

It is this clinging to the god of force, this tradition that the object of war is peace, and that therefore war only can end war, that is at the base of the trouble.

Professor Murray tries to do the impossible by eliminating sanctions in terms and then in effect reintroducing them. So long as power is to be the reliance for the suppression of war, so long will it be a question of "Greeks," and of the heaviest battalions. Whenever a new combination of nations is strong enough to resist or overcome the so-called protective combination the theory of force crumbles.

A sound American foreign policy in its fundamental view will be that the civilized nations must get together and by common agreement abolish the infernal institution of war. When the militarists and imperialists get tired of referring to this proposal as a "Pope's bull against a comet," or a resolution against an earthquake, or a sentimental statement in a little boy's copy-book, we can organize the world for peace and set up an international judicial system to supplant the traditional and fatal war system. The juridical method does not require a United States of the World, or world legislation, or a world executive, but merely a code of decent laws with two cardinal principles—the first, that the use of war for the settlement of international disputes is absolutely prohibited and made a crime under the law of nations; and the second, that a code of laws be prepared which shall treat all nations, great and small, as equal in justice and right before the law. When, and not until, the institution of war has been outlawed and banished from civilization, this court can be given affirmative jurisdiction, precisely as our Federal Supreme Court has jurisdiction over the controversies of our sovereign states. This differs radically from arbitration, either voluntary or obligatory. Arbitration is valuable but lamentably insufficient, as events have demonstrated. We are now asked again to rely internationally upon arbitration backed up by potential and actual armed force. Arbitration can only become effective when Outlawry of War has been accomplished, just as disarmament can only safely occur after the whole war system has been condemned and abolished.

Unless the European nations are willing to enter in good faith into an arrangement condemning and abolishing for all time the institution of war, it is useless in our view for them to attempt to lure us into Leagues and Protocols by mere changes in phraseology. We confidently believe that America should be rewarded for her contribution to the war by the indemnity of durable peace.

Professor Murray is unduly alarmed about our relations with Japan. There is not a chance in the world that we will go to war with that nation. Indeed there is in this country and has been for years an undercurrent of sentiment and admiration for that great people. If we could once get rid of the fear and unreasonable dread of war most of the international questions, including the Japanese, would melt away. As a matter of fact there never was propaganda more solidly built upon a vacuum than was the fear instilled through the veins and arteries of American life in 1921 over a threatened war with Japan. The only possible casus belli of any consequence was the immigration question and that was not even touched at the Washington conference. The rest of the basis for hostilities between the United States and Japan was moonshine.

And, finally, the idea, properly characterized as "fantastic" by Profesor Murray, that some American government would make war for the sake of destroying the League and upsetting Great Britain is about the wildest statement, literally, that I have ever heard. Notwithstanding the noise and clamor, the United States and Great Britain, without any concrete nexus, are international comrades in culture, in traditions, in historic and literary background and in ideals of liberty. Therefore, many of us rejoice, both because we want a thorough-going plan for peace to be adopted by the nations, and because the possibility of friction and conflict between the Anglo-Saxon peoples is further removed, that the military and bureaucratic Protocol and the implications of Articles 10 and 16 of the Covenant have been repudiated by a responsible British government.

Sincerely yours,

S. O. Levinson.

Youth and Education

H. Runham Brown, Secretary, No More War Movement

The War Resister is a fighter, not against men, but for ideals. We have no use for passive pacifism. Life is ever a struggle between the lowly instincts and the higher aspirations. We cannot hope to succeed in the struggle by a merely negative attitude. To resist an evil is one step, to overcome evil with good is a much bigger step. When we fill the mind with worthy ideals we crowd out unworthy aims.

We live by mutual aid, co-operation and comradeship once understood, sympathy and understanding once felt, and the war mind will die of neglect. Constructive pacifism means more than resisting a war, it builds a new mentality and it must start with the education of youth.

A similar statement has been issued by the Youth Section, English No More War Movement.

Statement of Weltjugendliga (German Youth)

It is determined to combat with speech and pen, also with passive resistance, any attempt at military servitude, especially by objection to war service and by aid and assistance to such objectors.

Neither will it follow the nationalists, who prepare for the day of revenge, nor will it fight for the capitalistic interests of the ore and coal mine owners.

But it will stake its life in indefatigable, strong devotion for the brothers who prepare the way for the coming World Era.

Youth and International Understanding

Young people from Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, France, Finland, Great Britain, Holland, India, Italy, Norway, Austria, Poland, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, taking part in the conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation at Nyborg, Denmark, in July, make the following statement: "We have arrived at a mutual understanding in the spirit of comradeship and confidence, which unites races, peoples, confessions and classes. We shall endeavor to realize this spirit in our lives, to stand up for justice and to renounce all use of violence."

* * *

Do you also share this world vision of Youth; will you dedicate yourself to the fulfillment of this *purpose?* If you do, we will welcome you into our fellowship.

You are invited to write to the secretary.

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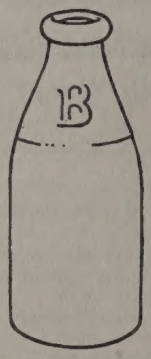

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